A FOURTH LETTER TO THE PEOPLE of *England.*

[Price One Shilling.]

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FOURTH LETTER TO THE PEOPLE of *England.*

Mutemus clypeos, Danaumque inſignia nobis
Aptemus: dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirit?
Arma dabunt ipſi. VIRG.

LONDON,

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A FOURTH LETTER TO THE People of *England.*

AS I confeſs, I know not any better Method of recommending myſelf to ſome certain Readers, by whom I particularly wiſh to be read, I hope to be forgiven the little Fraud of appearing under the Character of their favourite Author, and aſſuming his Addreſs. This Gentleman hath lately favoured the People of England with his Correſpondence in three Letters, and as I think moſt harmleſſly of the Motives, which have plunged him thus deep in Politics, I would willingly prevent the Conſequences,

quences, that may legally, if not logically, attend his writing another of theſe epiſtolary Pamphlets, if he ſhould find it in the Fertility of his Genius. Poor Man! What if the Miniſtry ſhould not conſider Him, as I do, the Enthuſiaſt of a Party; poſſeſt with a Frenzy of Property, though not worth a Shilling; with a Quixotiſm of quarreling for a natale ſolum, in which he never had a Foot of Eſtate, and raving about Taxes, as if he could be affected by any Tax, except that upon Paper? What if they ſhould imagine his Letters may poſſibly be miſchievous? Without Doubt, there are all Sorts of Readers for all Sorts of Writers, or according to the Philoſopher's Pleaſantry when he ſaw an Aſs eating Thiſtles*, SUCH LIPS, SUCH LETTUCES. He may find Smyrna-Coffee-Houſe Readers, as well as Smyrna-Coffee-Houſe Admirers of his Evening Eloquence. But really ſhould an honeſt Man be ſent to Newgate or the Pillory, for the Sake of ſuch Readers? Methinks, in common Juſtice ſuch Readers ſhould be ſent along with him.

* Similes habent labra lactucas.

He will certainly acknowledge the charitable Intention, with which I would endeavour to prevent theſe Inconveniences, nor will he reſent my treating him with exceeding Contempt, ſince it is the only poſſible Pretence for his eſcaping the Chaſtiſement of thoſe Laws he hath outraged, and inſulted. For though the Miniſtry may never ſee theſe epiſtolary Labours, or in the Conſciouſneſs of their own Integrity, and the Dignity of Virtue, would probably ſmile at the wild Caricaturas he hath drawn for them, yet who knows, whether they will think it within their Duty to ſuffer the Memory of King *William* to be treated with Obloquy and Falſhood, and the Revolution ironically repreſented, as *productive of Bleſſings to this Land, according to the Songs of Whigs, Penſioners, Placemen and Miniſters?* How long, can he imagine, they will ſuffer this new and dangerous Language, *the dethroning of* James *the ſecond; his Exile; thoſe Patriots, who ſtript the Crown from the Father's Head, and placed it on the Son and Daughter's?* Is this the Language of Liberty; of Revolution-Principles, and conſtitutional Reſiſtence, ſo warmly, though cauſeleſsly and impertinently recommended

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in theſe Letters? Is it not rather the full Expreſſion of ſenſeleſs and virulent Jacobitiſm?

THE Malevolence of Spirit, with which he mentions, the *bleſſed Acceſſion of this Family to the Throne of theſe Realms*, muſt paſs unnoticed. It were indecent to repeat the wild and incoherent Calumny, however eaſy to refute it; and I ſhall only remark, that the firſt Magiſtrate of a great Nation ſhould at leaſt be treated with Reſpect, and that a Prince, whoſe perſonal Virtues would in private Life render him truly amiable and eſtimable, ſhould be protected from ſuch ill-mannered Outrage by thoſe Laws, which declare him, what he truly is in himſelf, incapable of doing wrong.

BUT what Kind of Spirit could provoke this Writer to abuſe the whole People of England, for whoſe intereſts he would appear thus zealouſly concerned, by Compariſons with the Greeks and Romans? By Compariſons equally ignorant, as malevolent? If the People of this Realm, which he affects to call England, be degenerate as he deſcribes them, univerſally venal, loſt to public Virtue, ſupinely negligent of their Country's Welfare, drowned in Pleaſures, arrogant,

arrogant, ſelf-ſufficient and irreligious; if ſuch their real Character, it matters little by whom they are governed, or by whom they are enſlaved. In vain are we directed to look up with Hope and Joy to his David, his Arch-Angel, his Thunderer, his Meſſ h. For though we better acknowledge the Abilities and Eloquence of this Gentleman, than this Writer in *his ludicrous Panegyric, yet his Abilities could not even for a Moment ſuſpend the Ruin of his Country in ſuch a general Depravity, and his Elo-

* *His ridiculous Panegyric.*] That we may not be ſuppoſed to defraud this Gentleman and his Oppoſition, of the Honours they have ſo dearly earned, let us acknowledge never were Figures in a Puppet-Show better preſented. Firſt, behold with Joy Him, whoſe ſuperior Intellect ſilenced all the babling Batteries of France. Or him, upon whoſe Heart Integrity burns Incenſe; who deſpiſes the fallacious Dazzle of Power. Now mark that noble Family, where all the Sons are virtuous, and ſtrenuous in Juſtice to their King: or Him, who ſteps forth like little David to oppoſe and diſcomfit the miniſterial Goliah; then like Michael, with huge too-handed Sway cleaving the ſatanic Body of the Miniſtry aſunder. Now hear the Author's pious Prayer for Aſſiſtance from Heaven to paint this Meſſenger diſpatched from the celeſtial Abodes: ſo ſuperior he appears, you muſt conceive him an Angel; and now he is a Meſſiah preaching Repentance to the Jews.

 quence,

quence, powerful as we are taught to believe it, could only pronounce her funeral Oration.

But not ſuch the preſent State of Virtue in Great Britain. Induſtry and Honeſty; Simplicity of Manners and a Zeal for the Religion of their Couutry, with Courage not inferior to that of their Anceſtors, ſtill diſtinguiſh the lower Claſs of our People. Generoſity, Magnanimity of Spirit, Friendſhip, Charity, are ſtill eminently poſſeſſed by thoſe of ſuperior Rank and Fortune. Nor is public Virtue and Love of Country denied to the Gentlemen, who ſomewhat too warmly, at leaſt in this critical Conjuncture, oppoſe the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration. Enflamed, as we may ſuppoſe them, by an ill-judging Spirit of Popularity; by Ambition, in itſelf the firſt of all human Virtues; by Envy, the Daughter, as Plato calls her, of Æmulation; they may not perceive, that the Meaſures, which muſt ſoon decide the Fate of this Nation, are finally determined; that they cannot now be corrected, altered or improved; and conſequently that all preſent Oppoſition can only intimidate the weak; embolden the diſaf-

diſaffected and encourage the libellous Pamphleteer to publiſh his crude, indigeſted Politics to the People.

YET one Vice, in an Exceſs peculiar to this Kingdom, it is acknowledged, rages through the Land. A Spirit of Extravagance both in the Richneſs and Elegance of our own Manufactures, and the expenſive Purchaſe of every foreign Ornament, either of Uſe or Taſte, is univerſal. It cannot be denied, for the Facts are every where apparent. It cannot be concealed, for the whole World is conſcious of it. Let the Miniſter then, who makes this Kingdom the Mart of every foreign Luxury; who protects and encourages the Merchants, who bring home the Temptation to your very Doors, let him bear the Reproach. It only puzzles me to think in what Manner our Author will reconcile this poſitive Extravagance to his Demonſtration of our ſending ſeventeen Shillings in the pound of all our Labours, Manufactures and Eſtates every Year to Hanover. Indeed in other Parts of this coherent, regular Performance he acknowledges we receive ſix Shillings in the Pound, and pathetically laments, *that*

of every twenty Strokes of thoſe, who labour at the Hammer or the Loom; in Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures, fourteen are doomed to German Intereſts. From whence he concludes, that Wealth has paſt thro this Kingdom like a Meteor thro the Sky, blazed and left no Trace behind it. His Concluſion, it is confeſſed, is perfectly juſt, and pretty and poetical. Then with Regard to his different Computations, there can be only one Objection to their being both true, however almoſt contradictory, that they are both abſolutely impoſſible.

But why have the Vices of Greece and Rome been thus curiouſly examined? Perhaps, cutting up a dead Body, to know of what Diſtemper the Patient died, may be within the Practice of Phyſic; yet ſurely not to impart its Diſeaſes to the Living. But really, Sir, where are the Hiſtorians, whom you have ſtudied with ſo much Attention, and who give you this Character of the Athenians? In what Herculaneum Library have you diſcovered their ſatiric Poets? Horace hath been vain enough to boaſt, and we have been ignorant enough to believe him, that Satire is of Roman Original; a

Species

Species of Poetry wholly unknown to Greece. In which of his Philippics does your Patriot Orator charge the Athenians with Irreligion and Irreverence to their Gods? Their general Character was Enthuſiaſm and Superſtition, witneſs the Baniſhment of Alcibiades, and the Martyrdom of Socrates; and I am pretty confident, if Demoſthenes had affronted the People of Athens, as you have the People of England, they would have inſtantly decreed his Death or Baniſhment. So much more jealous were They of the Majeſty of their Democracy, than we are of our Monarchy; ſo much bolder the Licentiouſneſs of the Britiſh Preſs, than the Oratorial Freedom of the Athenian Tribunal.

SINCE our Author, whether from the Modeſty or Inability of Ignorance hath given us only one Specimen more of his Learning, it may be Matter of Good-nature to convince him, he ought never to venture another. He boldly tells us in his third Letter. *(a) Under no Form of the Athenian or Roman Government were the People denied the Uſe of military Weapons.*

(a) Page 13.

I would

I would not willingly ſeem to inſult this Aſſertor by ſending him to Authors, he certainly cannot read, or Languages he does not underſtand. Let him therefore take the following Quotation from Potter's Antiquities. *(b) The ancient Grecians were always armed, thinking it unſafe to adventure themſelves abroad without a ſufficient Defence againſt Aggreſſors. Hence Ariſtotle hath rationally inferred, that they were a barbarous and uncivilized Nation (c). This Cuſtom was firſt laid aſide at Athens, for Hiſtorians generally agree, that the Athenians enjoyed the Happineſs of wholeſome and uſeful Laws before the reſt of the Grecians. Afterwards a Penalty was laid by Solon upon thoſe, who wore Arms in the City without Neceſſity, and the followiog Law was made by Zaleucus,* THAT NO PERSON SHOULD WEAR ARMS IN THE SENATE.

WHEN the Roman Soldiers returned from any foreign Conqueſt, their Arms were laid up in the Capitol, until another War was declared, new Levies raiſed, and the military Oath adminiſtered. On the contrary, the Proteſtants of this Kingdom

(*b*) Potter's Antiquities. 2. Vol. Page 22. (*c*) P. 23.

may

may have what Arms they pleaſe, and in very Fact almoſt every proteſtant Farmer hath a Gun over his Chimney. If our Author means to arm the Roman-Catholic Subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as by his gallant Project of two Millions of Militia, he muſt neceſſarily mean, perhaps the Scheme may not appear altogether ſo adviſeable. At leaſt, it may be liable to ſome Objections.

THESE Clamours then of being diſarmed and treated like Slaves, what can they really mean? If our Author propoſes to ſignaliſe his own Ardour for Liberty, and his Country, the King's Troops will receive him, and, I dare believe, aſſign the Poſt of Honour for his Proweſs. Or is he angry, in his militia Courage, like the Gaſcon, who ſwore it was the ſevereſt Inſtance of the Grand Monarque's Tyranny, that he had taken away the Amuſement of duelling?

BUT I find myſelf inſenſibly falling into a pert Imitation of this Writer's Style, aſſuming his important Air of aſking an unmeaning Queſtion, not without a Conſciouſneſs of being extremely pleaſant. Such

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is the uſual Fate of reading bad Books, or converſing with bad Company. Yet it was hardly poſſible to be ſerious amongſt ſuch Extravagances, and theſe Authors make no Difference between being unanſwered, and being unanſwerable. But I aſk Pardon, and ſhall hereafter conſider the Subjects of theſe Letters in their own juſt Importance, and no more ſeem to forget the Dignity of the Perſons, to whom I have preſumed to write.

LET us then conſider the preſent Plan of miniſterial Operations, and the warm, though unavailing Oppoſition to it, in the moſt impartial Lights; neither purpoſing to write a Panegyric upon the Miniſter, whoſe Meaſures we approve, nor condeſcending to perſonal Invectives againſt the Characters of thoſe, whoſe Conduct we muſt condemn. Let us acknowledge there are many Gentlemen in this, yet unconvincing, Oppoſition, beyond all Suſpicion zealous for the Welfare and Honour of their Country, nor of mean Abilities to ſupport them. Equally convinced of the pernicious Deſigns of France, and only differing in Judgment with Regard to the Means,

Means, which moſt effectually, and moſt expeditiouſly may check the Progreſs and chaſtiſe the Inſolence of her Ambition. Let fair good Senſe and Reaſon determine between them.

When the Miniſtry could no longer hope by Treaties and Negotiations, to obtain Satisfaction for the Depredations committed upon our Fellow-Subjects in America, two Methods were propoſed for vindicating the Honour of his Majeſty's Crown, aſſerting the Rights of his People, annoying the Enemy abroad, and repelling any ſuppoſed Invaſion at home. The firſt, beſides determining to exert, for the Defence of the Nation, every poſſible Expedient, which our Laws and Conſtitution; the Genius and Manners of our People will admit, propoſed forming an Alliance upon the Continent, which might intimidate the Councils of the France, and divide her Forces.

In this Scheme it was foreſeen and acknowledged, that Subſidies would be neceſſary, both to engage and enable ſome other Powers to act in our Favour, or to

prevail on them to ſtand Neuter. The other Propoſal adviſed to rely upon our natural Strength; our Situation, as an Iſland; our Fleets to prevent, and, if it were effected, upon our Militia to repel, an Invaſion. Let us examine theſe different Schemes with Temper and Impartiality, and let us conſider firſt, whether paying Subſidies, be a wiſe Meaſure in general with egard to our Intereſt, and honourable with Regard to the Glory of our People.

THAT France, a Nation at leaſt as proud, as She is powerful; neceſſarily moſt jealous of her military Glory, becauſe moſt ambitious; that She began, and for a Series of Years hath continued the Payments of very conſiderable Subſidies both in the North and in Germany, is no mean Proof, that they are not, in themſelves, diſhonourable. In the late Wars She paid Pruſſia for acting in her Favour, and Denmark for a Neutrality. The Honour of the Nation therefore ſeems, by theſe Inſtances, ſufficiently vindicated.

LET us now inquire whether our paying Subſidies to Ruſſia can be proved a Meaſure of

of Wiſdom, as it is acquitted of Diſhonour. They were probably given (we preſume only to ſpeak our own Sentiments) to awe and controul the Operations of a Monarch, from whoſe good Senſe and the Knowledge of his own Intereſts, we had every Thing to hope, but from whoſe Engagements with France, and from whoſe Power we had much to apprehend. In the late War he acted in Confederacy with France, equally againſt his Inclination, as his Intereſt; and if the Propoſals he made in the Year 1740 had been accepted (and our Court ought ſurely to have uſed her Influence with that of Vienna to accept them) He had been for ever detached from France; and the Forces of the Houſe of Auſtria, which he ruined by repeated Victories, might have been victorious over the common Enemy.

THIS Prince by the Wiſdom of his Majeſty's Councils is now happily reconciled to this Nation, and while with Regard to our own Intereſt we rejoice in his Alliance, we muſt with Pleaſure behold him extending his Influence, and enlarging that Power, which hereafter may be eminently uſeful to the common Cauſe we profeſs to maintain,

the Liberties of Europe. No longer a Dependant upon France, he holds, as King of Pruſſia, the Ballance of the North; as Prince of the Empire he is the Guardian of the Germanic Body, and in both theſe Characters the Protector of its Freedom and of the Proteſtant Religion. Yet this trivial Writer, beds us * *not to be amuſed with ſpecious Tales of Conventions made with the Pruſſian King, and vaſt Advantages obtained; what are you to him, or he to you, as Hamlet ſays of Hecuba?* Such reaſoning muſt be acknowledged unanſwerable, for Abſurdity will no more ſubmit to Argument, than a ſelf-evident Propoſition will bear being demonſtrated.

In conſidering our Treaty with the Heſſians, we may believe, without any extraordinary Compliment to the Wiſdom and Integrity of our Miniſtry, that they could neither engage better Troops, nor theſe upon cheaper Terms. It is only to believe, they would not wantonly laviſh away the Treaſures of the Nation. Yet not the Expence of any Meaſure, in which the Welfare of a great People is concerned, but the Neceſſity

* Third Letter. Pag. 51.

or

or Expediency of the Meaſure itſelf, is the proper Object of Inquiry.

It hath been aſked, why we did not rather engage the Hanoverians? We are told, we ſhould then have had a gallant Body of veteran Troops, engaged by Principle in the ſame Cauſe, and fighting for the ſame Sovereign, whoſe Perſon they love, and whoſe Virtues they reverence: that it is a peeviſh Diſcontent. and unworthy of a great Nation, to envy the Hanoverians whatever Advantages might attend our taking them into the Britiſh Pay, or as a noble Lord, with far more Spirit, expreſſed it, *he could not conceive why the Hanoverians ſhould be more ſeverely treated, merely becauſe the Elector of Hanover had acted like a Britiſh King*. It is with Pleaſure we think ourſelves authoriſed, by a noble Duke's Declaration, to anſwer this Queſtion; that his Majesty propoſed, in his paternal Care for his People, to ſend for the Hanoverians hither, if ſuch a Meaſure ſhould be neceſſary, without the Forms of a Treaty.

As an Encouragement for popular Clamour, it hath been aſſerted with much Confidence, that the Heſſians were hired merely

merely for the protection of Hanover. It now appears, they were wiſely engaged for whatever Service, and in whatever Country, the Intereſts of Britain, ſhould require. They are now ſent for hither to aſſiſt us in oppoſing that Invaſion, with which we are threatened by the Inſolence of France. Or rather, they will probably yield to the Britiſh Troops the Glory of repelling their proper Enemy, and be deſtined, in different Parts of the Kingdom, to awe the ſeditious, the diſcontented, the diſaffected; and to reſtrain, within the Bounds of their Allegiance, that Part of our Fellow-Subjects, who are unfortunately more bigotted to their Religion, than ſenſible to the Bleſſings of Liberty. Unhappy, that our own domeſtic Differences, enflamed by an angry Oppoſition and its Pamphleteers, ſhould render ſuch Aſſiſtance neceſſary, yet in Proportion happy, to be able to engage ſuch Aſſiſtance.

THAT there is no national Diſhonour in hiring auxiliary Troops, let the Example of all the greateſt Nations, and moſt powerful, be an Evidence. The Kings of Perſia, the greateſt Monarchs of their Age, always entertained a large Body of Grecians in their Service,

Service, and with what particular Diſtinction they were treated, let Xenophon's Aſcent of Cyrus inform us.

When the Athenians are adviſed by Demoſthenes, their firmeſt Patriot, and their ableſt Miniſter, to raiſe an Army againſt Philip, the French Monarch of thoſe Days, He allows three Fourths to be Mercenaries. Carthaginia maintained her Wars almoſt wholly by auxiliary Forces, and that Army, with which Hannibal reduced the Romans to every Thing but Deſpair, had, in Proportion, very few native Carthaginians. The Romans were ſoon unable to preſerve their own Conqueſts. But being too poor to hire foreign Troops, they received the Soldiers, whom they conquered, into their Armies, and as a conſtant Supply for future Levies, incorporated whole Nations into the Rights and Privileges of Rome. But when their Frontiers were more extended, and their Ennemies more numerous, they enliſted not only the People of Italy, but Barbarians of all Countries.

Yet this Meaſure, in a certain Degree as ſalutary and wiſe, as it is honourable, they carried into ſuch Exceſs, as often endangered

dangered the Republic by Mutiny and Diſobedience to military Diſcipline, and it is now juſtly numbered among the Cauſes of her Ruin. This Danger was wiſely foreſeen by the Miniſter, who propoſed engaging the Heſſians. Their Numbers are ſufficient for the Succours intended, but far too inconſiderable ever to become dangerous or formidable.

THE popular Objection againſt our paying Subſidies to Nations upon the Continent, or intereſting ourſelves in their Diſputes, hath ſurely more Wit and Epigram in it, than Argument and good Senſe. That Nature hath divided us from the Continent as much in Intereſt, as in Situation, & *penitus toto diviſos orbe Britannos*, is juſt as wiſe, as the Remark of a good Father of the Church upon Horace's Character of our Inhoſpitality to Strangers, *What other Morals can be expected amongſt a People ſeparated from the reſt of the World?* Yet, in very Fact, this Iſland, while ſhe is Miſtreſs of the Ocean, is nearer to every other Kingdom in Europe, whether to do them Offices of general Humanity, or afford them Succours of Alliance; whether to vindicate an Injury,

Injury, or to reſent an Affront, than many Kingdoms upon the Continent are to each other. Witneſs the Succours ſent from hence and from Ireland to the unfortunate People of Liſbon by his MAJESTY's Humanity, which arrived, I believe, before even the Compliments of Condolence from any other Power, except Spain.

IN conſidering the natural Intereſt of Iſlands in general, perhaps the following occaſional Remarks may deſerve ſome Attention. Ambition and even the Ideas of Conqueſt ſhould be far ſeparated from their Politics. Peace is their natural Happineſs; War their peculiar Miſery. As their Greatneſs, their Influence, and that Reſpect they demand from their Neighbours, muſt ariſe wholly from their Commerce, whenever that Commerce is inſulted or injured, they muſt be vigorous in reſenting, and inſtant in demanding Satisfaction. Suppoſing their Fleet, ſuch as they ought conſtantly to maintain, ſuperior and commanding, Repriſals are more immediately in their Power, than in any Nation's upon the Continent.

NATIONAL Reſentments, or Affection for any particular People they ſhould never

indulge, becauſe whatever Nation trades with them is their beſt Ally, in Proportion as the Ballance of Trade is in their Favour. From hence their Obligations in Politics to aſſiſt that Ally, whether oppreſſed or in Danger of being oppreſſed, eſpecially by a Power, which is their own natural Enemy. Their Influence, their Mediation and the Dignity of their Name, ſhould be always employed, nor ſeldom their Fleets and their Treaſures. If either Expence or Danger can deter them from purſuing theſe Maxims, let them reſign the Sovereignty of the Seas, and then let them expect to ſee their Coaſts inſulted, their Commerce parcelled out among their Neighbours, and even their Liberties precarioufly held at Pleaſure of the next ambitious Monarch.

THESE are Motives of Action, and Principles of Conſtitution, common to all Iſlands. I have deſignedly omitted thoſe, to her greateſt Glory, peculiar to Great Britain: her Protection of the Proteſtant Religion, and her aſſerting, in her natural Love of Liberty, the univerſal Freedom of Europe —— of Mankind.

SOME

SOME other Motives of Action are at this Moment honourably peculiar to her. That ancient Antipathy of France againſt her, ariſing from a Difference of Religion, Cuſtoms, Polities; her Remembrance of the Victories, gained in her Land by our Anceſtors; an Emulation of Courage and military Glory; that Envy, with which ſhe beholds the Opulence of our Commerce, and our Influence in the Councils of Europe, the natural Effect of that Commerce; her repeated Experience, that Britain hath always, and the Probability that ſhe will always oppoſe her Projects of Slavery, theſe have ever, and may they ever be, the Objects of her Reſentment. She is convinced, though all the World ſhould ſubmit to Slavery and be abject, yet Great Britain would aſſert her own Freedom; and *however over-matched or over-powered will never allow herſelf to think, in the Moment of Contention, that any Power upon Earth is her Superior.*

BUT the Magnanimity, with which his Majeſty hath vindicated the Honours of his Crown, and the Rights of his Subjects; the Spirit, with which his Councils have been ſupported by the Miniſtry, and by the uni-

verſal Conſent of the Nation, theſe are new Objects of her Indignation.

If theſe Remarks upon the Politics of Iſlands are juſt, they will enable us to form a Judgement of the ſecond Scheme, which diſclaims all Connexion with the Continent, and propoſes to defend us by a numerous and well-diſciplined Militia. Let it be granted, that a far leſs numerous Militia than what this Extravagant propoſes, might be able to oppoſe the Deſcent of our Enemies. *Two Millions are to be raiſed in England and Ireland; one hundred thouſand of them to be ſummoned in a few Hours and armed at the Tower, and in a few Days a like Number may be collected in any other Part of the Kingdom.* But let us leave this Viſionary, and, if poſſible, mention him no more.

In Oppoſition to this Plan of a ſubſidiary Alliance upon the Continent, a regular military Force at home, and the utmoſt Exertion of our naval Strength for the Annoyance of our Enemies abroad, another Gentleman aſſures us, that unaſſiſted and unallied, we are able to defend our Country by a Militia, and break the Power of France by the Superiority of our Fleet. I greatly fear, the firſt

firſt of theſe Meaſures would be found extremely imprudent, though poſſible; the ſecond, an inconſiderate over-weening of our own Strength. A fair Computation of the Numbers of Inhabitants in either Kingdom, and the Quantity of real Wealth, muſt determine this Part of the Debate; yet with this additional Conſideration, that France by the Nature of her Conſtitution gives her Monarch a Power over her laſt Man, and her laſt Louis-d'or. That we are able greatly to diſtreſs, if not wholly to ruin her Commerce, is acknowledged. The Miniſtry have proved it in a Manner moſt glorious to their Country. Not our own Annals, rich as they are in naval Honours and Victories, can ſhew a Period of Time, in which the Rights of this Nation have been aſſerted with greater Dignity, and her Injuries reſented with equal Reſolution and Succeſs. We appeal to the Hiſtory of the World, and dare aſſert, there never was an Example of a great People rendered incapable of exerting their natural Strength, and continuing without Reſiſtance for ſo many Months to be chaſtiſed for their Perfidy and Injuſtice.

However, it is confeſſed, that a much leſs numerous Militia, than our Author's romantick two Millions, might either prevent, or repel any poſſible Invaſion. Yet there is really ſomewhat little leſs than romantick in the moſt temperate Militia Schemes. They are formed upon Plans of our Saxon Anceſtors: they deſcend to us through the Battles of Agencourt and Creſſy; they are filled with Ideas of almoſt univerſal Conqueſt, at leaſt the Conqueſt of France, and of making ourſelves formidable to Europe in our military Character. Yet for theſe Ideas, viſionary almoſt to Ridicule, our preſent happy, peaceful Conſtitution muſt be violated; the Huſbandman torn away from the Labours of Agriculture; the Artificer from the Wealth and Induſtry of his Manufactures. Thus while we are in Imagination forming the Conqueſt of diſtant Countries, our own muſt lie uncultivated, and our People be reduced at home to real Poverty, by Projects of enriching themſelves with fancied Plunder abroad. Yet even in theſe wild Schemes we pay an involuntary Compliment to the French, when we propoſe raiſing an hundred thouſand Men (the loweſt Computation of an Array of our Militia)

Militia) to repel an Invaſion of ſome twenty or thirty thouſand, the utmoſt Force, with which they can be ſuppoſed to invade us. Or does this Gentleman thus acknowledge the natural Weakneſs of a Militia, when oppoſed to diſciplined Troops?

But beſides the large Expence of ſuch a Meaſure, I am apprehenſive we ſhall find in the Event, that we have only turned the Genius of our People from the Arts of Peace, without inſtructing them in thoſe of War. I believe we need not aſk our military Gentlemen, whether Soldiers are to be manufactured by a monthly, or weekly Exerciſe in a Church-Yard. I mean no Rudeneſs by the Word manufactured, for a Soldier really ſeems to me a Being of meer Art. His Courage is not of Nature, (except with Monteſquieu we define Courage, a good Opinion of our own Strength) for no Man is by Nature Proof againſt the Senſe of Pain, and the Terrours of Death; or in the Wit of a late noble Lord, *all Men would be Cowards, if they durſt.*

Not the Diſcipline of kneeling, ſtooping, ſtanding, or even firing with a ſteady Eye, can form a Soldier, fit to be truſted with the

the Safety and Honour of his Country. You muſt inſpire him, as the Sentiments of the Science he hath profeſſed, with a gallant Sufferance of Pain and Fatigue; a Spirit of Enterprize: an intrepid Calmneſs in the Article of Danger; an Opinion of his own ſuperior Worth, for which he is choſen from the Body of the People, to protect the weaker Part of his Fellow-Subjects from Violence and Oppreſſion. You muſt teach him to ſtartle at the leaſt Imputation upon his Courage; to reſent imagined Affronts; Affronts, rather than Injuries; and ſtubbornly to refuſe, in the ſacred Jealouſy of his Honour, to aſk pardon even where he does not refuſe to acknowledge himſelf blameable. His *ratio ultima*, like that of Kings; his Logic, in arguing either with Friends or Enemies, muſt be to conquer, or die. Yet theſe are Articles of military Diſcipline, in which, I am ſomewhat apprehenſive, that the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, who is to be their Colonel, or the Squires, who are to be their Officers, are not ſuch extreme Martinets, as to inſtruct their Regiments.

To

To talk to us of Grecian and Roman Militia is any thing, but a Deſign to impoſe upon us. Every Citizen of Athens and Rome, until their virtue was loſt, or enervated in luxury, was really a ſoldier, and had ſerved a certain Number of Campaigns, in proportion to his Age. Of equal Weight, in Argument, are Examples of our modern Militia; Swiſs, French or Swediſh. Any conſiderable Difference in our general Polity renders all concluſions, from partial Likeneſſes, impertinent. Like all other Similes, they may perhaps amuſe the Reader, illuſtrate and enliven the Subject, or be able to prove every thing but the Point in debate. The Swiſs make War their Trade, and are a Nation of Soldiers, to be hired by all the Princes of Europe. The Swediſh Militia, private Men, as well as Officers, have Eſtates aſſigned them for their Pay, and conſequently fight as Landlords, rather than Soldiers. The French have eighty thouſand Militia, whom they place in their Garriſons, when they ſend their regular Troops to a Campaign.

Out of theſe they recruit their Regiments, but never venture to fight a Body of them by themſelves.

It is a Compliment to the Gentleman's Abilities, who propoſed this Scheme, to believe, he hath found ſome other, perhaps better Arguments to ſupport it, than thoſe he ſeems at preſent inclined to acknowledge. Whenever he gives them to the Public, he may depend upon their being conſidered with all due Attention, and with the ſame Degree of Decency, with which he thinks proper to inſtruct us. Invective is not the Talent of one Man only, however he may have improved it by frequent and induſtrious Cultivation. It is among our other natural Talents, perhaps like that of Satire in Poetry, in which there is often more of our Temper and Complexion, than real genius, and in which it is neither Matter of Vanity or Envy to excel. If I may be permitted to ſpeak my own Sentiments, I would not have been *the Satiriſt of this Age*, gnawing his own Heart, burſting with Spleen and Vexation of Spirit, deteſted,

teſted, feared, envied —— no; not for the Glory, or if you pleaſe, the Immortality of his Eſſays on Man.

How ardently ſhould the Public wiſh, and perhaps with ſome Reaſon expect, that Gentlemen would be influenced by theſe, or any other Arguments, which their own better Underſtandings may ſuggeſt, to treat the Buſineſs of the Nation with ſomewhat more Reſpect. The Virtues in general, and I know not why Patriotiſm ſhould be excepted, are ſuppoſed to be of better Temper; while Invectives are generally, or at leaſt are ſuſpected to be, the Language of Diſappointment, Anger or Envy. They may call it Declamation or Poetry, ſhould we tell them, the Genius of their Country is preſent at their Debates; then in plain, inartificial Proſe let us preſume to inform them, that our Happineſs and Liberty; our Miſery and Slavery, demand their Attention to the Queſtion, and ſhould recall them from their Affectation of making Speeches, the Wanderings of Imagination, and the Puerility of Similes.

Boys are taught never to make a Theme without a Simile, but an Oration, which affects to ſpeak to the Happineſs of Millions, ſhould argue with Reaſons, not Words; with Things, not with their Likeneſſes.

It is hardly poſſible to avoid ſmiling at the very Vanity of this Kind of Imagery. Or when we ſuppoſe the Patriot Orator deſcribing the Horrors of a French Invaſion; his native Country deſolated and drenched in Blood; the Inhabitants wild with Deſpair and frantick with Rage againſt the Author of their Calamities; yet if he carries us, by Strength of Imagination, into his Green-Houſe, and illuſtrates theſe Terrors by a pretty Alluſion to a curious Exotic there, what am I to think of the Sincerity of his own Fears, for he has kindly eaſed me of mine? Is he himſelf any longer alarmed, who can amuſe himſelf with ſuch a Prettineſs? The Plant itſelf, fearful as it ſeems, is an image of unreal Danger, for the Moment that Violence, whoſe Approach oppreſſed it, is with-

withdrawn, it inſtantly recovers its Health and Beauty.

LET me not be underſtood to mean, that Similes are denied to Eloquence. Far otherwiſe. Yet they ſhould not only be diſcreetly uſed, but the Ground, Temper, Complexion of the Simile, whether of Hope or Fear, of Joy or Grief, ſhould be the ſame as in the Image or Object it would illuſtrate. For Inſtance, a Battle at Land is repreſented by a Tempeſt at Sea; the Deſolation cauſed by an Invaſion may be juſtly compared to the Ravage of a Peſtilence; ſurely not the Ruin of a Country to the Shrinking of an Exotic in a Garden.

THERE ſeems, however, to be a Kind of Eloquence peculiarly fitted to maintain an Oppoſition, and in very Fact, though difficult to aſſign a Reaſon for it, the ſame Gentlemen (and the Leaders of the preſent Oppoſition are a Proof of it) who have been clamouroufly eloquent againſt a Miniſtry, have been extremely phlegmatic and cold in its Sup-

Support. Yet it muſt be preſumed they changed Sides from the better Conviction of their Underſtandings, although the Meaſures were abſolutely the ſame, when they ſupported, as when they oppoſed. What can be the Meaning of ſuch Contradiction? Muſt we conclude, that the Miniſtry was always in the Wrong, even when theſe Gentlemen themſelves were Miniſters; or that ſuch Orators can be eloquent only upon one Side of a Queſtion? Is it, that Truth, like Praiſe, admits of little Variety, and diſclaims both Artifice and Ornament; from whence, perhaps, we have ſo few Panegyriſts, and ſo many Satiriſts? Thus in Phyſic, there are a thouſand Ways of proving a Man ſick, yet only one of ſaying, He's well. Thus pronouncing a Man good or wiſe, fills his whole Character at once, but numberleſs the Phraſes of calling him a Fool, or a Villain.

When a lively Genius, inſpired with this Kind of Eloquence, finds itſelf incapable of forming, conducting, or executing a great Deſign, it exerts its Spirit in

in mending and correcting thoſe of others; with a ſpecial Dexterity of finding their Faults. Too weak to ſupport a Weight of Argument, and too delicate to bear the Fatigue of regular, laborious Thinking, it willingly, and not injudiciouſly, abandons itſelf to a Waſte of Epithets, a Luxuriancy of Language, and the Curioſity of making Similes. It talks not to to the Underſtanding, for reaſoning is not its Fort. It endeavours to enflame the Imagination, for the human Imagination loves to be enflamed. It ſpeaks with Confidence to the Paſſions, and they liſten with Delight, for it offers them a Kind of ſovereign Deciſion in all Britiſh Politics.

YET the Temper of the Paſſions is made of Fire, with all its Properties; rapid in their Progreſs, and reſiſtleſs; kindled with Eaſe, but ſlowly and with Danger extinguiſhed. Should not Gentlemen therefore, at leaſt in the preſent Conjuncture, be a little apprehenſive, leſt the Fire, which they kindle merely for their own Warmth, may ſet their Country in a Flame?

a Flame? An Invaſion is every Hour expected, for deſperate as the Attempt appears, the French have no other Way to reſent the Indignities they have ſuffered, or to retrieve the Glory of their Monarchy. We imagine the Meaſures, taken for the Defence of the Nation, are the beſt that human Wiſdom, Attention and Vigilance could form. We rely upon the Courage of our Soldiers; upon the Conduct, Activity and Experience of their royal Commander, and upon the well-known Love they bear him. Even one certain Gentleman convinces us of our Safety, for if he were the leaſt apprehenſive of his Country's Ruin, could he be thus talkingly employed? What can Ambition and Conteſts for Place and Power; what can Oratory and a Gaudineſs of ſpeaking, propoſe to themſelves in a Nation ſo near its final Deſtruction, for what is Deſtruction, but Loſs of Liberty? Is this a proper Time to alarm the People with even real, certainly not with imaginary Terrours? How could that Gentleman *bear the Aſpect of his Country* under his own Deſcription of Horror

Horror and Diſolation, if he retarded, even for a Moment, thoſe Meaſures, which are intended for her Preſervation? If he does not heartily concur in promoting their Succeſs (for it is now too late to change them) although he ſhould really think, that better might have been choſen? But we truſt in Providence and his MAJESTY'S Councils, that theſe Scenes of Horrour are the Drawings only of a diſtempered Imagination.

LET me conclude with profeſſing much perſonal Reſpect for this Gentleman, which, I hope, I have not violated in this Paper; let me acknowledge, I truly honour his Abilities, and have often heard him with Pleaſure, even againſt my Underſtanding. In theſe Sentiments let me beg Leave to recall to his Remembrance the nobleſt Inſtance, I really think, in ancient Hiſtory of true Magnanimity of Soul; the nobleſt Sacrifice, that of the Heart and its Paſſions, ever offered to Virtue and Love of Country. I ſhall not preſume to make any Reflexions upon it, and ſhall only ſay, it ſtands yet unimitated.

* ARISTIDES, from his firſt Entrance into the Adminiſtration, conſtantly oppoſed Themiſtocles in all his Meaſures, and ſometimes when they were in themſelves moſt equitable and advantageous to the Republic. Yet when he was elected Commander in Chief of the Athenian Forces, Ariſtides vigourously ſupported him, and with his beſt Advice; thus raiſing his greateſt Enemy, for the Welfare of his Country, to his higheſt Pitch of Glory. For when Xerxes invaded Greece, and had blocked up the Athenian Gallies in the Streights of Salamis, Ariſtides ſailed by Night, with uncommon Bravery, through the Perſian Fleet, and calling Themiſtocles alone out of his Tent, he ſpoke to him in this Manner; 'If we are wiſe, Themiſtocles, 'we ſhall now lay aſide thoſe idle Diſpu-'tes, which we have too long maintained, 'and begin a Conteſt more ſalutary and 'more honourable to us both; a Conteſt

* Plutarch's Life of Ariſtides. The Paſſage, I believe, is juſtly tranſlated, although in a looſer Manner, as intended only for the preſent Purpoſe.

'for

'for the Preſervation of our Country. 'You, by your Conduct, as an able 'Commander, and I, by aſſiſting you 'with my beſt Abilities and Advice.' He then informed him of his Danger, and his being ſurrounded by the Perſian Fleet; when Themiſtocles made him this Anſwer: 'It is not without Pain, 'Ariſtides, that I acknowledge you, in 'this Inſtance, my Superior. Yours is 'the Honour of beginning this Conteſt, 'but the Glory of continuing ſhall be 'mine.

FINIS.